1: Burrows--117 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 358, 466 Ifalik

"Maroligar as superintendent of repairs on a canoe-house, was quite a different person. He sat in the shade, rarely speaking, and only by careful watching could it be seen that he kept a closer eye on the proceedings than any of those who were resting between spells of work.

At crucial moments he did indeed give orders; but so did nearly everybody else. When a big timber was being lifted into place, or when some post or lashing seemed about to give way, the almost continual quiet chatter among the men rose to a hubbub. Everybody yelled what might be called either orders or vehement suggestions; few gave heed. Under those conditions, it was a surprise to us foreign observers that the work went along as well as it did. One probable reason for the fairly steady progress, in spite of these recurring crises, was that the procedure was governed, in main outline, by tradition. Except for a beginner or two, everybody had done essentially the same job time and time again. Even the beginners had watched just such jobs from early childhood."

1: Burrows--117
116, 396, 226, 466

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"As to direction of labor, final authority over every job of concern to more than one household rests with the chiefs. All such jobs, like district fishing parties, repairing a canoe-house, or a general clean-up, are undertaken at their order. But it was only during the bonito drives that chiefs were seen to assume active command.

The building of a large sailing canoe requires permission of the chiefs, presumably because it makes such inroads on the available manpower. The course of the work itself is under the direction of an expert shipwright, who may or may not also be a chief. Tom, as a sennap, was nominally in charge of the building of his canoe. But since his time had been allotted by the chiefs to Spiro and me, he delegated supervision of the work on the canoe to his brother, Magaleisei, also a sennap.

An observer who had not been told in advance who was in charge of a job would ordinarily have difficulty in picking him out. The only tasks in which a boss was clearly in evidence, within my observation, were the drawing of lines on what was to be the bottom of a canoe, and the hurried launching that followed the sighting of a school of bonito in the lagoon. The drawing of lines has to be constantly, narrowly supervised. The sighting of a school of bonito is a crucial moment and calls for utmost haste. On the two occasions when we witnessed it, the usually mild Maroligar came hobbling to the canoe-house at the best speed he could make, bawling orders at the top of his voice, his eyes blazing."

1: Burrows--117
116, 226, 466

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The slow but exciting task of rounding up a school of bonito was similarly marked by periodic outbursts of shouting along the line of canoes. At the climax of the successful attempt, when the line of seines was herding the big fish to the beach, a high proportion of the men on the job were acting as if they were in charge. Particularly noticeable, to an observer on the shore, was Gauaisig, a respected craftsman but too old for strenuous work. He hobbled back and forth along the beach, gesticulating and shouting at the top of his rather feeble voice. Nobody seemed to pay the slightest attention."

1: Burrows--117-118 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 466 Ifalik

"In building a canoe, the sharing of authority was even more evident. [118] It often happened, in the job we had a chance to follow from day to day, that more than one recognized expert was working at a time. One of them, Toromann, was also a chief; but another, Magaleisei, was nominally in charge. Neither distinction could have been guessed from their behavior. There was no jockeying for precedence, as might be expected in our culture unless a rigid order of precedence was observed. Everybody felt free to sight along a line and give his opinion about it. There were frequent pauses for consultation. Nobody seemed to be criticizing anybody else, or defending himself against criticism.

That sort of divided command is obviously inefficient. Yet it has an advantage rarely attained in modern American culture. Every worker gets far more fun out of his work than he could by taking orders from a foreman, who in turn follows a blueprint. In the Ifalik way of working, everybody shares in the joys of feeling himself an executive, whether anybody follows his instructions or not. The morale of the workers is enviably high. Add the custom of dressing up in a strip or two of white young coconut leaf at the beginning of a communal job, and celebrating the end of it with a feast, and it will be plain that Ifalik combines work and play more successfully than has been done in our culture since the days of barn-raisings and husking-bees. Ifalik still extends democracy to economic production, a sphere in which we have sacrificed it to speed, quantity and precision."

1: Burrows--165
466, 533

(1947-48)

Woleaians /-2
Ifalik

"German methods of labor recruiting are described in the following excerpts from a native song:

They come to the men's house
Where the people are assembled,
And seize men to take them away.

They came in the afternoon
And hunted men by night.
Nobody could sleep for fear of them.

In front of the men's house
The Germans line up the Caroline men.
They are pleased to see so many--
They have captured ten,
Strong men all.

'Come along! Get into the raft!'
They feel the arms of the captives,
And chuckle with glee
To find them so strong.

The first mate takes them aboard."

1: Burrows--166-167 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 466, 609, 177 Ifalik

"Tom and other older men told us several stories of the domineering behavior of the Japanese. Though celebrated for courtesy among themselves, they evidently had none of it to spare for their Micronesian wards. This was particularly disagreeable to the people of Ifalik, because of the high value they place on courtesy or, as Tom called it, 'fine talk'. These stories were no doubt intended partly to flatter us. It might be supposed that, since the Japanese were recent enemies of our country, we would be pleased to hear an unfavorable account of them. Yet we saw no reason to suspect the natives of lying.

'You sit right down on the mats beside us to talk with us', they said. 'The Japanese used to pile one box on top of another. Then one of them would get up on the highest box and talk to us. Very bad talk.'

More specific was their account of the Japanese method of recruiting labor, which had advantages over the German method from the point of view of the recruiters, but not from that of the islanders. According to this [167] account, when the Japanese wanted men--which they did mostly for phosphate mining on Angaur--they would come ashore, seize the chiefs, and then make known the number of laborers they wanted. If these were not quickly forthcoming, they would beat the chiefs."